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ADDRESS

OF

HON. HERBERT S. HADLEY

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AT A MEETING OF THE

KANSAS CITY  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

APRIL 19th, 1913

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It was Napoleon who said that history is a fiction that is agreed upon. But it is, as I understand it, one of the laudable objects of this Association to make the history of this community and this State a correct record of human events. And no question is of greater interest and importance than one which relates to the history of our country and the operation of our system and form of government.

The history of the nation can be understood only as we understand the history of the states, and the influences and conditions that brought about their creation and development.

It has often seemed to me that we who live in that part of the State of Missouri that is named for the State of Kansas do not consider in its proper importance the history of the State in which we live and of which we are a part. The influences of trade and the conditions of transportation cause us to turn our faces towards the West. But we should realize that we are vitally affected in our social, industrial and political affairs by all that affects the life of the State under whose laws we live and to which we must render an obedience. And in order that we may effectively co-operate to promote the public welfare, we should understand the influences that brought about the settlement of Missouri, her part in the life of the nation and the genius of her institutions.

And whether we are Missourians by birth or Missourians by adoption, we have reason indeed to feel proud of that state which we call ours. With the possible exception of some of the thirteen original states, there is none that has been, or is today, more typically American; none that has had a more marked and lasting influence upon our national life and character.

While Missouri has always been conservative and deliberate in action, never impulsive or hysterical, her history is the history of striking contrasts and apparent contradictions. The soil of Missouri was added to our domain as a part of that great empire which Thomas Jefferson, the great exponent of Democratic doctrines, secured for the nation when acting in accordance with Federalistic principles. And it was the privilege of Missouri to bring into the Union the last of those states formed from that territory which belonged to the American Colonies at the

establishment of American independence. Maine entered the Union upon the shoulders of Missouri.

From the time that Missouri applied for admission as a state, her history was interwoven with the history of that great conflict whose final precipitation the admission of Missouri did so much to postpone, and whose final culmination the sons of Missouri did so much to bring about. A Northern state in location, Missouri became a Southern state in its institutions and its sympathies. And the first Constitution adopted by the people sanctioned African slavery, and provided that no free negro should ever be permitted to reside in the state. But when human ingenuity could no longer ward off the inevitable, when compromise could no longer stay the hand of fate, Missouri, by over eighty thousand majority, decided to remain loyal to the Union, to the Stars and Stripes. Missouri, then, in proportion to her population, furnished a larger number of soldiers to the armies of the North and of the South than any other state in the Union. The bravery of the sons of Missouri, who offered up their lives in devotion to the cause for which they fought, is proved by the lives which they so freely gave from Ft. Donelson to Appomattox Courthouse. And what a galaxy of glorious names can Missouri claim among those men who lived and wrought during those anxious years; who won the praise of their own generation and the admiration of posterity.

Grant and Sherman, whose fame and achievements are now the common glory of the entire country, were citizens of Missouri before the beginning of the Civil War; the one a farmer, the other the manager of a street railway system of the city of St. Louis. To these names can be added those of Blair, of Sigel and of Nathaniel Lyon, whose untimely death made the battle of Wilson's Creek a tragedy to the Federal cause.

It was due to the courage, the foresight and the unfailing purpose of such leaders that not only Missouri, but the Trans-Mississippi country was saved to the Union, and the probable success of the Confederacy, which such a loss might have meant, was thereby rendered impossible. And among those who fought beneath the Stars and Bars, the names of Missouri's sons are hardly less distinguished. Francis M. Cockrell, old "Pap" Price and Joe Shelby, the last a general at the age of thirty-four, with a martial spirit unsatisfied by four years of bitter war, are names of men whose deeds will be remembered so long as human bravery is sung in song and told in story.

Missouri, like the Kentucky mother, said to her sons at the beginning of the Civil War, as she placed in their hands



the swords their fathers had carried in the war with Mexico :

“I hope that you will draw this sword in behalf of the country and the flag for which your fathers fought, but for one side or the other in this great conflict, draw it you must.”

The Dred Scott decision, sustained eventually by the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States, was first rendered by a Missouri Judge, announcing a doctrine which shocked the moral sensibilities of the people of the North and of the East, and did much to render inevitable the irrepressible conflict. And yet, the State that had once denied to free negroes a domicile within her domain, that first gave concrete expression to the doctrine that a black man had no rights which a white man was bound to respect, was the first of the states in which the institution of African slavery had been recognized, to abolish that institution by constitutional amendment or legislative enactment.

Missouri, to complete the record of striking contrasts, Missouri which voted by eighty thousand majority to stay in the Union at a time when the question was a political issue, after a brief period of Republican rule following the close of the Civil War, swung back into the Democratic column, taking her position along with Arkansas and Mississippi in the intensity and reliability of her devotion to Democracy. And, then, after a period of forty years of Democratic rule, Missouri calmly and complacently parted company with the Solid South; calmly and complacently took her place at the head of the Republican column, and there she proceeded to stay until she decided to change back.

In no other state in the Union have political controversies been characterized by more intensity of feeling; in no other state of similar population and wealth have the two leading political parties been more equally divided in strength. The political history of the State has been characterized by excesses of partisan prejudice and intensity of controversy which have been neither a source of satisfaction nor benefit to our institutions.

But, notwithstanding the bitterness of political controversy and its consequent influence upon the legislation of the state, it has affected but little, if at all, the social, religious, professional and commercial life of the commonwealth. Northern courage and Southern chivalry have vied with each other in the courtroom, in the store, in the home and in the church in maintaining and regarding the amenities of life. Children of Northern parents have married and been given in marriage to children of Southern parents, and bitter opponents in politics have worked to-

gether in complete harmony in every other department of human activity and thought. The stormy Petrel of prejudice and controversy has stirred alone the waves of politics, leaving undisturbed the even current of our social, professional, religious and industrial life. And Missouri has learned by actual experience that no political party is entirely bad, and that no political party can claim a monopoly of honesty and virtue.

And yet, this record of over three-quarters of a century of striking contrast and rapid changes has been accomplished without the suggestion of inconsistency, and without any loss of reputation for good sense and conservatism. The truth of the matter is, that when the people of Missouri have thought that they had occasion to change their minds, they have done so, without unnecessary agitation or disturbance. When they have thought they had no occasion to change their minds, they have remained of the same opinion.

But the one particular in which Missouri has had a marked influence upon our national life; the one particular in which Missouri illustrates the operation of forces which have contributed materially to our national development is as a pioneer influence in the winning and the development of the West. The true significance of the history of the State is in connection with this great national movement. Our history cannot be understood, except as we understand the work of the American pioneer. And the development of our national life, the growth of our nation and its institutions, its present and its future, will not be understood except as we understand that westward movement which began during the Revolutionary War at the shores of the Atlantic and ended three-quarters of a century later at the shores of the Pacific.

The able and dignified gentlemen, who, in powdered hair and knee breeches, declared for us our national independence, realized most vaguely, if at all, the possibilities of national development. The genesis of the American Revolution was not the desire for national independence, but a demand for the rights of the American Colonists as English subjects under English law. The occasion of the convening of the first Continental Congress in 1774 was the general dissatisfaction over the provisions of the Boston Port Bill, and the second Continental Congress, meeting after the battles of Concord and Lexington, declared that the Colonies had "no wish to separate from the mother country, but only to maintain their charter rights."

The soldiers who followed Gates and Schuyler in New England and New York, who rode with Marion and Sumpter

in Georgia and the Carolinas, and those who dared all and endured all under the leadership of Washington, were doubtless concerned but little, if at all, with the future development of the nation for which they fought.

But the operation of those forces which were to change a collection of Colonies stretched along the sands of the Atlantic into a continental empire whose shores are washed by the waves of two oceans, had begun even before that shot was fired at Lexington which rang 'round the world. While Washington and his army were fighting the battles of the Revolution against the English and the Hessians, there was being fought out upon the Western slopes of the Alleghenies another war against the Indians and the wilderness, the result of which was as important for our national development as was the struggle for national independence itself. Long before the Declaration of Independence someone had found the way to the West. And while the struggle for national existence was being fought on the Eastern slopes of the Alleghenies, that Westward movement had begun which was to produce the typical American and enlarge, far beyond the capacity of the men of that period to appreciate or understand, the possibilities of national greatness. And during the closing years of the Revolutionary War, those who had crossed the Alleghenies into the Valley of the Mississippi were not only able to fight successfully their own battles against the Indians of the wilderness, but were able to render material assistance in the final contest of the War of the Revolution. For it was they who at King's Mountain slew the gallant Ferguson, and completely destroyed his army, and it was from their ranks that most of Morgan's men were recruited when that grizzled old bush-fighter smote Tarleton so roughly at the Battle of the Cowpens. These two victories drove Cornwallis into his fortifications at Yorktown and made it possible for the great commander to win at last the struggle for national independence.

With the close of the Revolutionary War, the real Westward movement of our population began. The true career of the American people as a race of empire builders dates not from the founding of Jamestown and Plymouth, but from the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The early settlers were simply European sentinels standing guard over the treasure of Continental America, which they neither comprehended nor appreciated. They looked backward to the source whence they had come, rather than forward to the conquest and subjugation of a mighty empire whose extent and richness they neither realized nor understood. It was not until national independence was at last a reality that the American people began to feel that they were masters of a new continent and that to them belonged the

future. From that time American development was to begin, and it was to proceed as naturally and inevitably as the planets in their courses. The soldiers of the American Révolution, hardened by years of exposure, accustomed to the free life of the camp and of the field, turned naturally to that unknown West, the roads to which had been blazed by such hardy pioneers as Boone and Harrod and Robertson and Sevier.

A century and a half had been necessary for the development of the American Colonies as they existed at the declaration of American Independence. Within three-quarters of a century after the close of the American Revolution they had extended their dominion, their customs, their institutions and their laws to the shores of the Pacific. This mighty pilgrimage of a race, this subjugation and occupation of a continent, is unparalleled in the history of the world. In the accomplishment of this mighty work was developed a new character in the world's history—the American. The history of the nation can only be understood in the history of the West. The hardy pioneer, who, with ax and rifle, blazed the pathway of emigration and civilization into the Valley of the Mississippi and subdued it to his control, was also the pioneer American. He was neither Puritan nor Cavalier; he was an American.

While the South was the mother of the West, yet those who led the pilgrimage of this sturdy race were not of the gentry or the ruling caste of the Southern States. From Virginia, North Carolina and Pennsylvania came representatives of that fierce, restless race, the Scotch-Irish, the mild-mannered Quaker, the English, the German, the Scotch, the Irish and the Huguenot, who in the course of a generation were to be moulded, in the fierce struggle for existence that they waged against the Indians and the wilderness, into the peculiar and characteristically American type.

No fiction can ever surpass, in the intensity of its interest, this vast heroic drama of the West. The history of the occupation of the West is the real American Iliad. If you would sing of our "arms and our heroes" you must include the American pioneer. How tame in comparison become the stories of ordinary war and adventure. The courage and daring of the age of chivalry in insipid by comparison. The West was won by a race of giants to whom fear was a stranger. The pathway across the Alleghenies into the Valley of the Mississippi never led backwards. Those strong-limbed, bold-hearted, determined people belonged to that class who had come to stay. Three generations had produced in the free air of the new continent a man different from Old World's types; he was tall of frame and with abundant brawn, and there belonged to him the



heritage of courage and unrelenting determination; thin of face and sharp of countenance, strong of will and fierce in passion. Though given at times to listless idleness, he was yet able to show a fierce intensity of purpose and a most sustained energy of action. His was the day of buckskin and linsey-woolsey, of rifle and ax, of flat-boat and birch canoe; of homes built of logs and slabs, and fields tilled with both rifle and the hoe. Let me give you the story of one man and one community as typical of this period and of this hardy race who left home when there was no need of going, and who resolved never to surrender the land which they had come to occupy.

In 1779 James Robertson, in the Watauga settlement of North Carolina, gathered about him a party of 380 persons, men, women and children, and started for the West. He uttered these simple, but prophetic words: "We are the advance guard of a civilization and our way is across the continent." The women and children, 130 in number, with a few men, went by boat, scow and canoe, in the winter-time, down the bold waters of the Halston and the Tennessee. The rest traveled as best they might, over 500 miles of trace, from North Carolina to Tennessee. Of the entire party, 226 got through alive to the site of the present city of Nashville. Of those who traveled by water, only 97 got through alive, and 9 of these were wounded; one was drowned, one died of natural causes and the rest were killed by the Indians. Among those who survived the journey was Rachael Donelson, who died a few months too early to become the first lady of the land as the wife of President Andrew Jackson. In November, 1780, less than a year after the party had started westward, there were only 134 persons left alive out of the original 380. The Indians killed the settlers and the settlers killed the Indians. Of the settlers, 39 were killed in sixty days. The spring of 1781 found only 70 persons left alive, but when a vote was taken as to whether they should stay or return, not one voted to give up the fight. The course of empire in America was, as I have said, along the pathway that never led backward. In 1791 there were only 15 persons left alive out of the 380 who made this westward pilgrimage, and there had been only one natural death among them.

In such a settlement, among such a people, there was no such thing as a hero; all were heroes. No master of fiction could portray the story of their struggle and their hardships. One man, after having been shot and stabbed many times, was scalped alive and lived to joke about it; a little girl was scalped and lived to forget about it. An army of Indians assaulted the settlement, and fifteen men and thirty women beat them off. One of the women, a forgotten

heroine, moulded bullets throughout the night, and on the next morning gave birth to a son. This was the ancestral fibre of the West. And yet, in the fierceness of their struggle against the wilderness and savage foes, they did not forget their mission. In ten years after they had first cut away the forest they were founding a college and establishing a court of law. Thus it was that the homes and the graves of the West grew; and thus it was that our national type was developed.

Of such a stock were the men and women who followed the Boones, Bentons, Harrods, McAfees, Finleys, Bryants, Stewarts, Robertsons and Seviers in the winning of the West, and the story of its settlement and subjugation is told in the lives and labors of those men and women who established the states of Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri. We owe much of our national territory and national character to these bold pioneers who waited for no policies, no purchases, no leaderships, but pressed on, rifle and ax in hand, to discover and subdue the West. That was the day of the founding of the American aristocracy, of the birth of the American type and the beginning of the American character. If we would study and understand our American history and institutions we cannot disregard the American pioneer. Particularly do his achievements enter into the settlement and the building up of the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Texas. The fathers followed Boone through the canebrakes of Kentucky, or fought at King's Mountain; the sons marched south with Jackson to overcome the Creeks or defeat the British at New Orleans. Pushing on in their ceaseless yearning for the frontier they builded a new state beyond the Mississippi, and then, advancing into the Southwest, they died at the Alamo or charged to victory at San Jacinto.

The purchase of the Louisiana Territory in 1803 marked an epoch in American history. The land, however, which lies between the Mississippi and the Pacific was dedicated to the American people by laws as immutable as the laws of nature. When it was transferred to the dominion of the new Republic the same great work of discovery, expansion and conquest began there that had been carried on since the close of the Revolutionary War in the territory that lies between the Mississippi and the Alleghenies. Rogers and Clark, Zebulon Pike and Kit Carson were to the Far West what the Boones, the Harrods, the McAfees and the Kentons were to Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri. In 1792 Kentucky became a state of the American Union; in 1797 Andrew Jackson, as its first United States senator, sat in the halls of the American Congress. In 1812 Missouri was organized as a territory, and in 1820, a state lying



wholly west of the Mississippi became a part of the Federal Union when Thomas H. Benton took his place as a senator from the State of Missouri.

In order that the next quarter of a century of American history may be properly understood, it should be kept in mind that Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri were then regarded as the West. In our time, by reason of the memories of the Civil War and the influences that it left upon our national life, we are apt to fail to understand that formative period of our national life and history. During that time controversies in national politics were as pronounced between the East and the West as between the North and the South. Henry Clay was known to his generation, not as a Southern statesman, but as "Harry of the West." The victory of Andrew Jackson over John Quincy Adams was a triumph of the West over the East, and the two presidents, whom the Whigs elected to office, Harrison and Taylor; one a resident of Ohio and the other of Louisiana, were both chosen and regarded as representatives of the West.

The same character of men who had settled and developed the states of Kentucky and Tennessee and Missouri became the most numerous and the controlling element in the populations of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. And during the next quarter of a century these states, acting generally in harmony, rose to power and developed a strong, aggressive national sentiment in our public affairs. During the early periods of the building up of Kentucky and Tennessee the bonds which connected them with the national government were regarded with indifference and at times almost in a spirit of antagonism. But finally the tide of national sentiment set strongly towards the Union, and the War of 1812 developed, not only the solidarity of the West, but also established the solidarity of the American Republic.

With the development of the national sentiment there came a realization of the manifest destiny of the American people to establish a continental empire and carry their institutions, laws and civilization to the shores of the Pacific. And Missouri became, in its turn, a vanguard and outpost of civilization as Kentucky and Tennessee had been before her, and Virginia, Pennsylvania and North Carolina before them. The Missourian became the pioneer of the West. From the time that Zebulon Pike, Kit Carson, Jebediah Smith, Jim Bridger, Bill Williams, William Bicknell and the other pathfinders, scouts, trappers, traders and Indian fighters marked the pathway of travel and of commerce and of conquest across the Western plains and mountains, as their ancestors had blazed the first trace through the gaws of the Alleghenies, the Missourian was always upon that firing line

which is the protest of civilization against the wilderness. In that ceaseless yearning for the frontier which has drawn the star of empire westward from the Mississippi to the Pacific, the Missourian has always been at the head of the procession. For nearly forty years Missouri stood as an outpost of civilization, reaching out into the unknown and the undeveloped West. From her borders stretched those two great trails of Western travel, trade and conquest along which were to march those hardy hunters, trappers, traders, Indian fighters and soldiers who were to bind to the national domain the Trans-Mississippi country by ties stronger than those of treaties or of laws. The Missourian was the pioneer of the West.

The Oregon Trail, along which were to march the men who were to do more to win for us the great Northwest than our statesmen or our diplomats, started at our western border and ended at the Pacific. The Santa Fe Trail, along which Alexander W. Doniphan, the one man Abraham Lincoln said he had ever met who came up to expectations, was to lead his band of Missourians to add to our territory a vast new empire in the Southwest, started within our domain and ended in the land of the Mexican and the Spaniard. And the sons of Missouri have taken the lead and done well their work in the felling of the forests, the cultivation of the soil, the digging of the mines, the conducting of the commerce, the writing of the constitutions and the laws and the holding of the offices in the states that lie between the Mississippi and the Pacific.

It is almost a platitude to say that a period of history speaks through the medium of its great men. Leadership in the life of a people consists not only in directing their thoughts and activities, but also in expressing that which the people of any particular time may feel and believe. At a time when the representatives of the Eastern states in our national Congress were proclaiming the worthlessness of the Trans-Mississippi country and the impossibility of it supporting any considerable population, the representatives of Missouri were proclaiming with confidence its richness and fertility, the manifest destiny of the American people to subdue and occupy the American Continent from ocean to ocean and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf.

In 1816, in a public address in the city of St. Louis, Senator Thomas H. Benton said:

“The magnificent valley of the Mississippi is ours, with all its fountains, springs and floods, and woe to the statesman who shall undertake to surrender one drop of its water or one inch of its soil to any foreign power.”

The representatives of Missouri were vigorous and persistent advocates, in so far as the Trans-Mississippi country was concerned, of the policy of claiming everything and conceding nothing. And had their advice and counsels prevailed the slogan of "54 40 or fight" would not be today an unsatisfactory memory in our history, but would have marked the northern limits of our territory.

In advancing such a policy they acted in response to the feelings of the people whom they represented and of those influences which had carried the American people in their desire for new lands, new homes and new adventures ever onward towards the setting sun. And in their advocacy of a national policy which would secure as our national domain the Trans-Mississippi country, they were not indifferent to the possibilities of commercial and industrial development. In 1852, speaking at a meeting of citizens of an unincorporated village on these bluffs which overlook the confluence of the Missouri and the Kaw, where now stands that splendid city in which we meet tonight, Thomas H. Benton uttered the prophesy which has found its splendid fulfillment at the present time:

"Here where these rocky bluffs meet and turn aside the sweeping current of this mighty river; here where the Missouri, after pursuing her southern course for nearly two thousand miles, turns eastward to meet the Mississippi, a great manufacturing and commercial community will congregate, and less than a generation will see a great city."

As a representative of and expressing the feelings of the state of which he was a part, many of his predictions as to the greatness of the Trans-Mississippi country and its future development may have seemed extreme and overwrought when judged by the standards of his time. And yet he expressed the conviction, ingrained in the very being of the people of this state, as to our manifest destiny, and that, beyond all doubt, the coming years were ours. In commenting upon his predictions as to the development of the Trans-Mississippi country Theodore Roosevelt says in his "Winning of the West:"

"More clearly than any other statesman of his time he beheld the grandeur of the nation loom vast and shadowy through the advancing years."

There was another principle, other than that of the pioneer spirit, which was manifest in this westward movement, which found expression in the settlement and the development of Missouri. That was the spirit of individualism. The period of the winning of the West was the golden age of individualism. A man with his rifle and his ax was his

own sole producer and consumer, dependent upon no one for aught that contributed to his comfort or his existence. The hard, lonesome, dangerous life of the pioneer developed, in an exaggerated form, a self-reliance and self-confidence. Every man was a fighter, and every man felt himself capable to command. The theory of socialism had no place in the winning or the development of the West. The home and the individual was the unit of society, and not the organization of the community. That which each made by his labor, his own foresight, courage, skill or energy was his own, and he stood ready to defend it, if need be, against all the world, though he paid the price of his life in the struggle. The right of others to share equally in the products of his labor or achievements was as abhorrent to his sense of justice and of right as would be the claim of another to the special privilege of levying tribute upon his labor and achievement through the possession of money or of power. As against the assertion of either claim he would have fought with that unrelenting determination and undaunted courage with which he helped to win the fight for national independence from the British and the wealth of a continent from the Indians and the wilderness. In the present day we can turn with profit for our inspiration and ideals from the tawdry list of our modern captains of industry to those captains of enterprise and achievement who made possible by their daring, initiative, leadership and individualism our commercial, industrial and national greatness.

It had been the lot of Missouri, in securing admission to the Union, to bring about a compromise with reference to the institution of African slavery, which postponed for the lifetime of a generation the inevitable conflict as to its continued existence. And in bringing this controversy to a final issue it was again the lot of Missouri to play an important part. The abrogation of the Missouri Compromise and the establishment of the doctrine of squatter sovereignty has been generally attributed by historians to the political ambitions of Stephen A. Douglass to secure for himself the support of the South in his ambition to be nominated and elected president. But recent investigations have, in my opinion, made it entirely clear that Douglass was forced by the logic of events and by political conditions to take the position that he did in this controversy. The influence that brought about the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise and the opening up of Kansas and Nebraska to African slavery came from political controversies within the state of Missouri and the conflicting ambitions of Senators Atchison and Benton to represent this state in the United States Senate. And a strongly contributing influence towards the bringing about of this result was that pioneer spirit which



found expression in the winning of the West and the settlement and development of Missouri. The men who had been the pioneers in the carrying of English civilization across the Alleghenies and the building of a commonwealth west of the Mississippi had looked with eager eyes for years into the vast, rich domain beyond our western borders which was occupied only by the Indian, the coyote and the buffalo. They were not satisfied with the carrying out of our dominion and our commerce to the shores of the Pacific, they wished to see the Trans-Mississippi country settled and occupied by Americans and builded into new commonwealths. And so strong was this feeling that Benton, opposed though he was to the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise and the extension of African slavery, was forced into the advocacy of a policy which would open up the Trans-Mississippi country to every white man who wished to enter it and occupy it.

I cannot, within the proper limits of my discussion this evening, enter into a further consideration of the controversy that followed. In the trying years of the Civil War the contest for national existence absorbed and obscured all other national movements and influences. But when peace was finally established and the work of agriculture and industrial and commercial development was again begun, the pioneer work and influence of Missouri continued throughout the Trans-Mississippi country. The prejudices and bitterness aroused by Civil War drove many Missourians beyond our borders, causing them to seek new homes and new opportunities for achievement in the undeveloped territories of the West. But irrespective of these influences, the old pioneer spirit, which was manifest in the settlement of the state, continued to carry the stream of emigration to every state and territory between the Mississippi and the Pacific. Many times as I have gone into the different states that lie to the west of us I have been surprised to find what a very considerable majority of those who were prominent in the commercial, professional and official life of the community were former Missourians. In fact, I have been surprised to know what a large majority of good people we had left in the state when I found how many good people we had given to other states and territories.

Let us hope that the glory of Missouri is not alone the glory that comes from things that have been done; that her achievements are not as a story that is told. If she is to be true to her hopes and the dominant principle that manifested itself in her establishment and development, she must exercise a pioneer influence in meeting and solving the social, industrial and economic problems of the present day. And in that great moral awakening which has swept across the

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country, creating an increased interest in the duties of citizenship, causing the obligations of office to be placed above the influence of politics and patriotism to be placed above partisanship; in the working out of those great problems which, as the product of our complex, commercial civilization, confront the American people and demand solution to-day, Missouri has also been something of a pioneer. Let us hope that this work will continue and will not fail. For what more fitting and proper than that this distinctly American state, the center of our national domain, with institutions and conditions so characteristic of our national life, should be the leader in national thought and action in dealing with problems and evils which threaten, if they do not endanger, the security of our institutions and our system of government. For she represents in her industrial and intellectual greatness the interests of the North and of the South, of the East and of the West. Her greatness and catholicity in this regard but reflects the diversity of her climate, her resources and her soil. She has oats and barley on the north and corn and cotton on the south; she has steamboats along the east and prairie schooners along the west; she has millionaires and socialists and she can look upon both and be unafraid. She can give a World's Fair, surpassing in beauty, size and magnificence all former achievements, or she can furnish bob-cats and black bears in sufficient quantities and fierceness to satisfy the most strenuous demands of modern statesmanship. She can show you a soil unequalled in its richness by the Valley of the Euphrates or the Delta of the Nile, and beneath skies of Italian blue, in a climate that has sunshine enough for sentiment and snow enough for courage, she can show you fair women and strong men—the very flower and bloom of American manhood and American womanhood.

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